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DEBATING IBN TAYMIYYA AND IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZIYYA

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Birgit Krawietz, Berlin, & Georges Tamer, Columbus, May 2012

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Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya in the "Lands Below the Wind"[1]

An Ideological Father of Radicalism or a Popular Sufi Master?

Syamsuddin Arif

The recent upsurge of the so-called radicalism[2] in predominantly Muslim-populated regions of Southeast Asia like Indonesia and Malaysia, has been attributed to, among other things, the influence of Salafi thought going back to the two prominent Ḥanbalīs Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and his closest disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), as interpreted and promulgated later by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb

1 The Malay nomenclature *negeri bawah angin* is borrowed from Persian *zīr-bād*, meaning literally "below the wind", i.e., *leeward*, which has acquired a specific meaning among seafaring folk who used it to designate the countries east of India. The islands "above the wind" were probably Ceylon, the Maldives, Socotra, etc., whereas those situated "below the wind" were Malacca, Sumatra, Tenasserim, Bengal, Martaban, and Pegu. See Yule, Sir Henry: *Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, ed. by William Crooke, London 1903, s.v. *Zirbad*, s.v. "zirbad". See Clifford, Hugh and Swettenham, Frank A.: *A Dictionary of the Malay Language*, Taiping 1894, vol. 1, p. 63, cited in Azra, Azyumardi: *Jaringan Ulama Nusantara*, Bandung 1995, p. 183, n. 70.

2 Western observers and political analysts use both categories – "radical Islamism" and "Islamic radicalism" – to refer to the ideology that allegedly calls for radical transformation of society and politics by whatever means into an absolute theocracy. See Barton, Greg: *Jemaah Islamiyah. Radical Islamism in Indonesia*, Sydney 2004, p. 28; and van Bruinessen, Martin: Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia, in: *South East Asia Research* 10 (2002), pp. 117–154, here pp. 117–118. See Center for Strategic and International Studies: *Currents and Crosscurrents of Radical Islamism. A Report of the CSIS Transatlantic Dialogue on Terrorism*, April 2006, Washington 2006, p. 15; Desker, Barry and Ramakrishna, Kumar: Forging an Indirect Strategy in Southeast Asia, in: *The Washington Quarterly* 25 (2002), pp. 161–176, esp. p. 163. The author would like to thank the Research Management Center of IIUM.

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(d. 1206/1792), the founder of the Saudi-based Wahhabi movement.[3] This article argues that while it is true that the intellectual relationship established through multipurpose pilgrimage to the heartland of Islam has never lost its significance,[4] the political implications of this connection seem to be overestimated. As will be shown by the following survey, although the number of writings by and on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya in the Malay-Indonesian language is strikingly considerable, the nature and extent of their impact in the religious life and thought of people have yet to be seen. Hence, to construe a link between them and the emergence of radicalism in the "Lands below the Wind" would be too hasty a conclusion. To begin with, a historical overview on the coming of Islam and the intellectual role it plays in this region is given here to provide a general framework for the discussion that follows.

1. Islamic Literature in the Malay World: An Overview

Although the coming of Islam to the Malay-Indonesian archipelago – i. e., the vast area now covering southern Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and the southern Philippines – was sometimes dated as early as the seventh century,[5] the new faith did not gain a foothold in

3 For example, van Bruinessen, while recognizing that for most political observers all inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence which occurred in Indonesia in the past few years was provoked by power struggles between rival elite factions, or deliberately fomented by certain factions with the aim of destabilizing the current government, nonetheless asserts that "[t]he roots of most present Muslim radical groups in Indonesia can be traced to two relatively 'indigenous' Muslim political movements, the Darul Islam movement and the Masyumi party, and to a number of more recent *transnational Islamic networks*" (my emphasis). See van Bruinessen, Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism, pp. 117–118; Sivan, Emmanuel: *Radical Islam. Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*, New Haven 1990; and Miller, Judith: The Challenge of Radical Islam, in: *Foreign Affairs* 72 (1993), pp. 47–56.

4 The important role of pilgrimage in intellectual network-building among South East Asian Muslims is made clear in Vredenbregt, Jacob: The Haddj. Some of Its Features and Function in Indonesia, in: *Bijdraagen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde de Koninlijke Institut* 118 (1962), pp. 91–154; Husson, Lawrence: Indonesians in Saudi Arabia. Worship and Work, in: *Studia Islamika* (Jakarta) 4 (1997), pp. 109–135; Azyumardi, Azra: *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, Leiden 2004, pp. 8–11.

5 Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad al Naquib: Indonesia, in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 3 (1971), pp. 1218–1221; see idem: *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur 1969.

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the area until late in the 13th century with the emergence of a Muslim kingdom in Aceh, in northeast Sumatra.[6] There has been much discussion of the chronology, provenance and modality of the Islamization process.[7] Scholars generally agree, however, (i) that Islam reached the region via international maritime trade routes, which had existed since antiquity,[8] (ii) that its subsequent spread in various parts of the archipelago was gradual and peaceful,[9] by persuasion and not by force or sword, and (iii) that the wandering Sufi teachers, particularly from the 13th century on, played a crucial role in effecting mass conversion of the local population to Islam.[10]

The process of Islamization was to give rise to a new body of Malay Islamic literature. Gradually, the pre-existing, Hindu-Buddhist literature was adapted and in some cases even recast to meet the demands of the new religion, as evident in the Malay *hikayat* and Javanese *serat* genres. New terms and concepts mirroring the Islamic worldview, mostly from Arabic and Persian, were adopted, and old terms were

6 Among the earliest historical accounts of the presence of Islam in the region is that of Marco Polo, who on his way back to Venice made a stop at Perlak on the north coast of Sumatra in 1292 and noted that the people there had been converted by "Saracen merchants" (see Polo, Marco: *The Travel of Marco Polo*, transl. by Aldo Ricci, London 1950, p. 282). This was confirmed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the kingdom in 1345 (see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad: *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Beirut 1960, p. 618). See Winstedt, Richard O.: The Advent of Muhammadanism in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, in: *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 77 (1917), pp. 171–175, here p. 171; and Djajadiningrat, P. A. Hoesein: Islam in Indonesia, in: Kenneth W. Morgan (ed.): *Islam. The Straight Path; Islam Interpreted by Muslims*, New York 1958, pp. 375–402.

7 Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, pp. 24–36.

8 See Hourani, George F.: *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton 1995.

9 Arnold, Thomas W.: *The Preaching of Islam*, London 1935 (repr. Lahore 1979), p. 12. See Johns, Anthony H.: From Coastal Settlement to Islamic School and City. Islamization in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Java, in: *Hamdard Islamicus* 4 (1981), pp. 3–28, here p. 5.

10 See Johns, Anthony H.: Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History, in: *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2 (1961), pp. 10–23, here p. 15; Ibn Bakar, Osman: Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian World, in: Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.): *Islamic Spirituality. Manifestations*, London 1991, pp. 259–263; and Azra, Azyumardi: Opposition to Sufism in the East Indies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, in: Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke (eds.): *Islamic Mysticism Contested. Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, Leiden 1999, pp. 665–686, here p. 665.

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given new meanings, e. g. lord or god (*tuhan*), worship (*sembah-yang*), fasting (*puasa*) – to mention but a few. Yet the literary output of this early phase of Islamization, which continued until the 16th century, was not confined to tales and chronicles.[11] Rather, it covered a wide range of genres, from law and theology to ethics and morality. It is to be noted that by the 16th century the Malay language had become a lingua franca in the archipelago.[12]

By the latter part of the 16th and throughout the 17th centuries, mystico-theological literature of remarkable profundity was flourishing. Some of the best examples of such works, written in Malay but using the Arabic script,[13] are those of the poet Ḥamza Fanṣūrī, who lived during the reign of Sulṭān ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat Shāh (r. 1589–1604) of Aceh. Ḥamza Fanṣūrī belonged to the Qādiriyya order and drew upon the mystical doctrines of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī (d. 1492) and ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 1428).[14]

Another important scholar was Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatranī (d. 1630), who enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Iskandar Muda (r. 1607–1636) and served as the *shaykh al-islām* of Aceh.[15] Al-Sumatranī is said to be the one responsible for the popularization of the doctrine of "seven grades of Being" (*martabat tujuh*) based on the teaching of the Indian Sufi scholar al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1620), whose work *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala*

11 An excellent survey is given by Winstedt, Richard: A History of Classical Malay Literature, in: *Journal of Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31 (1958), pp. 1–261, esp. pp. 61–63, "From Hinduism to Islam"; reprint: Singapore 1961.

12 Kratz, E. Ulrich: Malay as Lingua Franca. A Historical Survey, in: *Malay Literature* 12 (1999), pp. 46–57; Awang, Omar: The Major Arabic Sources which Determined the Structure of Islamic Thought in the Malay Archipelago Before the Nineteenth Century A.D. in the Field of Law, Theology and Sufism, in: Lutpi Ibrahim (ed.): *Islamika. Esei-esei Sempena Abad ke-15 Hijrah*, Kuala Lumpur 1981, pp. 80–85.

13 Now it is generally known as *Kitab Jawi* or *Kitab Kuning*. See Bin Ngah, Mohd Nor: *Kitab Jawi. Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars*, Singapore 1983; Matheson, Virginia and Hooker, Michael B.: Jawi Literature in Patani. The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition, in: *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 60/61 (1988), pp. 1–86; van Bruinessen, Martin: Kitab Kuning. Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren-Milieu, in: *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146 (1990), pp. 249–250.

14 For his life and legacy, see al-Attas, Seyd Muhammad al Naquib: *The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī*, Kuala Lumpur 1970.

15 See van Niewenhuijze, Christoffel A.O.: *Samsu'l-Din van Pasai*, Leiden 1945; and Johns, Anthony H.: *Nur al-Daqa'iq* by Shams al-Din of Pasai, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 85 (1953), pp. 137–151.

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ilā al-nabī (The Gift Sent to the Prophet) was well-received and was even translated into Javanese.[16]

Scholarly discussions about mystico-philosophical matters ensued and soon developed into polemics during the reign of Sultan Iskandar II (r. 1637–1641), when he appointed Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1666), an Indian scholar of Arab descent, as the chief kadi of Aceh. Al-Rānīrī attacked the Wujūdiyya Sufism of his predecessors in his numerous writings, such as the *Ḥujjat al-ṣiddīq li-daf' al-zindīq* (Authority of the Righteous to Ward off the Freethinkers), *Jawāhir al-'ulūm fī kashf al-ma'lūm* (The Essences of the Sciences Regarding the Revealing of What is Known) and *al-Tibyān fī ma'rifat al-adyān* (Exposition of Knowledge on the Religions). He regarded the Sufi teachings of Ḥamza Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatranī as heretic and had their books burned and their followers punished to death.[17] Al-Rānīrī also wrote *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* (The Straight Path), a compendium on law, the *Hidāyat al-ḥabīb* (Guidance for the Beloved) and the celebrated *Bustān al-salāṭīn* (Garden of the Rulers), all in the Malay language but using Arabic script.

After al-Ranīrī's return to India, the outstanding figure to appear on the scene was 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī (d. 1693), a native of Aceh who lived during the reign of Sultana Tāj al-'Ālam Ḥafiyyat al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1641–1675). Having spent long years studying with a range of prominent scholars on the Arabian Peninsula, including Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1660), the then chief of the Shaṭṭāriyya order, as well as under his successor Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1690)[18] in Medina, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf became the first Malay scholar to write a full rendering and commentary on the Koran, titled *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* (Translator of the Concluded), drawing mainly on the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (Koran Commentary of the two Jalāls), i.e. of the Arab scholars al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1515), the *Anwār al-tanzīl* (Lights of the Revelation) of al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316) and *Lubāb al-ta'wīl* (Kernels of Explanation) of al-Khāzin (d. 741/1459).[19] Equally worthy

16 For details, see Johns, Anthony H.: *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*, Canberra 1965.

17 A full account is given by al-Attas, Syed Muhammad al Naquib: *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th-Century Acheh*, Singapore 1966; and idem: *A Commentary on the Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī,* Kuala Lumpur 1986.

18 On Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī see the article by Claudia Preckel in this volume.

19 Riddell, Peter G.: The Sources of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf's *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, in: *Journal of Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 57 (1984), pp. 113–118.

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of note is Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (d. 1111/1699), a famous scholar-warrior who led the Banten war against the Dutch and was later banished by the latter first to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and then to Capetown, South Africa, where he breathed his last. Al-Maqassarī wrote mainly in Arabic but also in Buginese, his mother tongue.[20]

The coming of Europeans to the archipelago in the 16th century was to have paradoxical consequences. On the one hand, it weakened the nascent Muslim sultanates, diminished their suzerainty and even brought them into armed clash with one another – e.g. the civil wars that broke out between Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa of Banten and his son (Sultan Haji), Sultan Hasanuddin of Macassar versus Aru Palakka of Bone and Sultan Agung of Mataram against Trunajaya. Yet, on the other hand, the challenge posed by the European colonial powers also engendered awareness among the Malays that as Muslims they belonged to one and the same umma.[21] Thus, for instance, following the Portuguese capture of Malacca in 1511, the Sultans of Aceh, who already had contacts with Muslim India and Arabia, sought an alliance with the Ottoman Turks against the Portuguese.[22] No wonder during the famous, long-fought war (1873–1904) against the Dutch, the Acehnese received military support from the Ottomans. Islam became a unifying force in resisting the colonial powers and in checking their proselytizing efforts.

The 18th century witnessed the emergence of the puritanical movement in Arabia under the leadership of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1703–1787). Inspired by the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb sought to purge the Muslim society of all its heretical beliefs and ritual innovations. In his call for reform and return to the fundamental doctrines and practices of Islam, he was supported by the Saudi ruler of Najd, who gathered the Arabian tribal forces to oppose the Ottoman rule. The movement, dubbed Wah-

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On his relations with the scholars of Medina, see Johns, Anthony H.: Friends in Grace. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkelī, in: Udin, Saifuddin (ed.): *Spectrum. Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana*, Jakarta 1978.

20 On his life and works, see Galigo, Andi Syamsul Bahri: *Pemikiran Tasauf Syeikh Abu Mahasin Yusuf al-Taj*, Kuala Lumpur 2004.

21 See Laffan, Michael F.: *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia. The Umma Below the Winds*, London and New York 2003.

22 Seljuq, Affan: Relations Between the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim Kingdoms in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, in: *Der Islam* 57 (1980), pp. 301–310, here pp. 302–304.

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habism by its adversaries,[23] soon fecundated vigorous counterparts in the Malay world. The so-called Padri movement (1807–1832) in West Sumatra is a case in point. Initiated by three returning pilgrims by the name of Haji Miskin, Haji Piobang and Haji Sumanik, it set itself against the local elite, which it regarded as compromising with non-Islamic beliefs and customs.[24]

On the scholarly level, the neo-Sufi reform movement was championed, among others, by ʿAbd al-Samad al-Falimbānī (d. ca. 1789), who wrote many important works, including a Malay translation of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Revival of the Religious Sciences) titled *Siyar al-sālikīn* (Ways of the Wayfarers), which advocated a "moderate" kind of Sufism in contrast to the monistic or pantheistic one of the previous era. Al-Falimbānī was also famous for his "radical" treatise, the *Naṣīḥat al-muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-muʾminīn fī faḍāʾil al-jihād fī sabīl allāh wa-karāmāt al-mujāhidīn* (Sincere Advise for the Muslims and Reminder of the Faithful Concerning the Holy Struggle on the Path of God and the Noble Deeds/Miracles of those who Strive for God), in which he encouraged the local Muslims to fight against infidel European colonials.[25]

In the 19th century, the religious-intellectual link between the Malay world and the Middle East was further consolidated, as was evident from the growing number of Muslims who travelled from the archipelago to the Middle East and stayed there to study for years. Some of them even succeeded in making a bright scholarly career in Mecca, e.g. Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī (1813–1897) of Banten, West Java; Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ (1842–1919) of Termas, Central Java; and Aḥmad Khaṭīb (1852–1916) of Minangkabau, Sumatra. The latter is known to have influenced generations of Jawi (Malay) students, contributing to

23 One of its staunch opponents was no less a figure than Shaykh Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1304/1886/87), the then Grand Mufti of Mecca, who wrote a polemical treatise *al-Durar al-saniyya fī al-radd ʿalā al-wahhābiyya*, which later was refuted by his contemporary Shaykh Muḥammad Bashīr al-Sahsawānī of India in a book titled *Ṣiyānat al-insān ʿan waswasat al-shaykh Daḥlān*, foreword by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, 5th ed., n.p. 1395/1975. The article by Claudia Preckel in this volume also deals with al-Sahsawānī.

24 See Dobbin, Christine: *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy. Central Sumatra, 1784–1847*, London 1983.

25 Mansurnoor, Iik Arifin: Muslims in Modern Southeast Asia. Radicalism in Historical Perspectives, in: *Taiwan Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 2 (2005), pp. 3–54, here pp. 16–17.

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the spread of moderate Sufism and "fuelling" anti-colonialism in his home country.[26]

Apart from the influence of Wahhabism, the Malay world around this time also began to be acquainted with the moderate reform ideas of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838–1897), Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905) and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935). Letters were sent by Malays to the editors of *al-Manār* in Egypt, asking for fatwas concerning legal matters, theological problems, as well as current political issues such as patriotism and nationalism.[27] Meanwhile, the number of students from Indonesia who came to study at al-Azhar University continued to increase significantly.[28]

The influence of Egyptian reformism in the Malay world was reflected most clearly in the Muhammadiyyah, a social movement founded by Kiyai Haji Aḥmad Daḥlān in 1912 in Yogyakarta, Central Java, whose primary aim was to deliver the local Muslim community from backwardness and to purify their religion from superstitions, traditional accretions and deviant mysticism, not by violent means but through education and economic activities. Two other organizations followed in suite, namely: the Irsyād (*Jamʿiyyat al-iṣlāḥ wal-irshād al-islāmiyya*) and the Persatuan Islam (PERSIS), founded in 1915 and 1923 respectively.[29] Members of these three institutions not only campaigned against syncretism and mysticism, but also rejected blind dogmatism (*taqlīd*) in favor of independent thinking (*ijtihād*)

26 For the dynamics around the life of Indonesian students in Mecca in the 19th century, see Hurgronje, C. Snouck: *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century. Daily Life, Customs and Learning of the Moslims of the East-India-Archipelago*, Leiden 1970.

27 Johns, Anthony H.: Islam in Southeast Asia, in: Mircea Eliade (ed.): *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York 1987, vol. 7, pp. 410–411; Bluhm-Warn, Jutta: Al-Manar and Ahmad Soorkattie, in: Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street (eds.): *Islam. Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society*, Leiden 1997, pp. 295–308. See Kaptein, Nico: Meccan Fatwas from the End of the Nineteenth Century on Indonesian Affairs, in: *Studia Islamika* 2 (1995), pp. 141–160.

28 On al-Azhar as the centre of religious learning for Indonesians, see Abaza, Mona: *Indonesian Students in Cairo. Islamic Education, Perceptions and Exchanges*, Paris 1994.

29 Literature on the 20th-century reform movements abounds: Peacock, James L.: *Purifying the Faith. The Muḥammadiyyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, Menlo Park 1978; Bisri, Affandi: *Shaikh Aḥmad al-Shurkātī. His Role in the al-Irshād Movement*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Montreal (McGill University) 1976; see Noer, Deliar: *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900–1942*, Singapore 1973.

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and rationally justified preference (*ittibāʿ*). These movements were met with resistance from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a rather conservative organization founded in 1926 with the aim of defending traditionalism and of reaffirming the necessity to be attached to one of the four major Sunni (i.e. Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī or Ḥanbalī) schools of law and to encourage participation in one of the "recognized Sufi orders" (*ṭuruq muʿtabara*).[30]

After World War II, which marked the end of the colonial era and the rise of the nation states of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei – that is, from 1945 on, Malay Islamic literature received a fresh impetus from prolific scholars such as Ahmad Hassan, T.M. Hasbi al-Shiddiqy and Hamka (Haji ʿAbdul Malik Karīm Amrullāh), each of whom wrote a full commentary on the Koran in Malay – i.e. the *Tafsīr al-Furqān*, *Tafsīr al-Nūr* and *Tafsīr al-Azhar* respectively. It is to be noted that most of the literary production during this new era reflected the growing interest of the Muslim population in learning the "true" Islam directly from its primary sources. Hence, in addition to Koranic exegesis, there soon appeared a complete rendering into Malay of the six canonical Hadith collections of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Dārimī, al-Nasāʾī, Ibn Māja and al-Tirmidhī. A great deal of *fiqh* works were also translated, such as the *Bulūgh al-marām* of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449), the *Subul al-salām* of al-Ṣanʿānī, the *Nayl al-awṭār* of al-Shawkānī (1760–1834) and the modern *Fiqh al-sunna* of Sayyid Sābiq (d. 2000) – to mention but a few.

In the political arena, however, the tension between the so-called *Abangan* (nominal, syncretic) and the *Santri* (Sharia-oriented, committed) Muslims continued unabated. There was a heated debate over whether Indonesia should be an Islamic or a secular state. Eventually, however, the secular-nationalists won the parliament and Islam was declared but one of the five official religions of the nation, besides Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism.[31]

30 See Chumaidy, A. Farichin: *The Jamʿiyyah Nahdlatul ʿUlama. Its Rise and Early Development (1926–1945)*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Montreal (McGill University) 1976; and Fealy, Greg: *Ulama and Politics in Indonesia. A History of Nahdlatul Ulama (1952–1967)*, Ph.D. thesis, Victoria (Monash University) 1988.

31 See Anshari, Endang Saifuddin: *The Jakarta Charter of June 1945. A History of the Gentlemen's Agreement Between the Islamic and the Secular Nationalists in Modern Indonesia*, M.A. thesis (McGill University), Montreal 1976. See Boland, Bernard Johan: *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*, The Hague 1971, pp. 45–54.

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Three decades later, following the so-called Islamic "resurgence" or "revival," exemplified in such historic events as the 1979 Iranian Revolution, Pakistan's Islamization program (1977–79) launched by President Zia-ul Haqq (d. 1988) and the assassination of the Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in October 1981, Muslims in Indonesia and Malaysia were becoming more assertive about their commitment to the faith,[32] in spite of all kinds of restraint imposed by their oppressive regimes. The establishment of Islamic universities, Islamic banks, Islamic insurance companies etc. represented this revivalist trend. It is during this period that the writings of "revolutionary" thinkers were introduced to Malaysia and Indonesia. Works of varying length written by authors such as Ibn Taymiyya, Sayyid Quṭb, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nadwī, Abū al-Aʿlā al-Mawdūdī, ʿAlī Sharīʿatī, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Fazlur Rahman, Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī and others began to pervade Indonesia, causing a remarkable increase in religious fervour and giving impetus to political activism, especially among university students.[33]

2. Literature of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya

Few medieval Arabic authors enjoy as much popularity and credibility among Indonesian Muslim readership today as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.[34] A visit to any Islamic bookstore in the country confirms this fact. Quite a number of his works in Indonesian rank among the bestsellers and have therefore gone through several editions. This is

32 See Nash, Manning: Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia and Indonesia, in: Martin E. Marty and Scott E. Appleby (eds.): *Fundamentalism Observed*, Chicago and London 1991, pp. 691–739.

33 A good survey of contemporary Islamic publications in Indonesia is given in Watson, C. William: Islamic Books and Their Publishers. Notes on the Contemporary Indonesian Scene, in: *Journal of Islamic Studies* 16 (2005), pp. 177–210.

34 On his life and works, see Brockelmann, Carl: *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden 1949, vol. 2, pp. 127–129; Laoust, Henri: Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, in: *EI*², vol. 3 (1971), pp. 821–822; ʿAbd al-Salām, ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm: *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya*, Kuwait 1984; Abū Zayd, Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh: *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya. Ḥayātuhu, āthāruhu, mawāriduhu*, Riyadh 1400/1980; al-Baqarī, Aḥmad Maḥmūd Māhir: *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya. Min āthārihi al-ʿilmiyya*, Beirut 1404/1984 and Alexandria 1407/1987; Apaydın, H. Yunus: İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye, in: *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1999, vol. 20, pp. 109–123; and Krawietz, Birgit: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah. His Life and Works, in: *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10 (2006), pp. 19–64.

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a recent phenomenon, however. For unlike al-Ghazālī, al-Qushayrī, al-Nawawī and al-Suyūṭī, whose works have been used in traditional schools (*pesantren*) for a long time, Ibn al-Qayyim was not a familiar name to most Southeast Asian Muslims until the late 1980s and early 1990s. It was only during the last decade that interest in Ibn al-Qayyim emerged and grew especially among university students and urban Muslims, as can be seen from the numerous translations of Ibn al-Qayyim's works and quite a number of scholarly studies on him. Some observers have associated this development with the mushrooming of Salafi groups in recent years. A steadily growing number of talented preachers (sg. *dāʿī*) who received their training in Saudi Arabia or Saudi-sponsored institutions such as Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Bahasa Arab (Institute of Islamic and Arabic Studies, LIPIA), formerly known as Lembaga Pengajaran Bahasa Arab (Institute of Arabic Teaching, LPBA), which began its operations in 1981, is believed to have played a major role in spreading Salafism in Indonesia. While the exact extent of their influence cannot be assessed, graduates of Saudi universities and their affiliated institutions have indeed contributed a lot in the dissemination of Ḥanbalism in Indonesia and in popularizing the works of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350), in addition to the writings of contemporary scholars such as Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Bāz (d. 1999), Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (d. 1999), Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿUthaymīn (d. 2001) and Ṣāliḥ al-Fawzān.[35]

A second factor contributing to the wide acceptance of Ibn al-Qayyim's works, most of which deal with Sufism based on the Koran and Sunna, is the innate disposition of the Malays (Indonesians) towards mysticism. Indeed, as pointed out by scholars, it is evident that in the Malay world as in India since the earliest times Sufism, both orthodox and heretical, appealed most to the population. This holds true even today, where heretical, pantheistic mysticism continued to exist

35 As recently pointed out by Watson, Islamic Books and Their Publishers, p. 187: "One impetus behind these ventures into translation was the initiatives taken by young students returning to Indonesia after study in Pakistan and the Middle East. Inspired by what they read or heard about while abroad, they returned with boxes of books which they suggested to publishers should be translated. Very often publishers take up these suggestions, working on the principle that what has proved popular elsewhere will find a market in Indonesia. Thus, for example, the works of one of the contemporary post-ikhwān al-muslimīn figures, Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī, have proved to be very popular at one end of the political spectrum; at the liberal end, Fazlur Rahman's work has found enthusiastic supporters among the younger generation of progressive intellectuals."

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despite the fact that orthodox Sufism – also known as "tasauf modern" (Hamka), "neo-Sufism" (Rahman), or "urban Sufism" (*Sufi kota)* – is becoming more popular and has attracted many followers among the educated middle class, who now look to religion and preachers for guidance and practical tips on how to attain spiritual happiness.[36] Gradually, the writings of Ibn al-Qayyim and the like become alternative to older treatises on Sufism. Many now compare Ibn al-Qayyim to al-Ghazālī since both helped to uncover and clarify the orthodox roots of Islam's interior dimension, explaining the way to God with insistence upon the main sources of orthodoxy: Koran, Sunna and the practice of the first two generations of Muslims.

Last but not least, even though Ibn al-Qayyim was deeply influenced by Ibn Taymiyya and likewise engaged in polemics against heretical groups such as the Jahmiyya, Jabriyya and Qadariyya, he was more ready than his teacher to be lenient and amiable to those with whom he differed. In refuting the views of his opponents, Ibn al-Qayyim refrained from using offensive words and preferred instead a sober tone typical of a spiritual teacher. Ibn al-Qayyim managed to talk to the heart, combining verses and tradition with logical persuasion and stylistic finesse. It is this sympathetic approach that makes his writings more popular and fascinating. Lastly, one finds in him flashes of linguistic genius, pious spiritual insights and the answer to the most vital questions of life, soul, happiness, the afterlife etc.

In order to illustrate and map this recent interest in Ibn al-Qayyim as an eminent scholar especially of Sufism, I provide in what follows a list and a brief description of published as well as unpublished works by and on Ibn al-Qayyim, mostly in Indonesia but also in Malaysia and Singapore classifying them in three categories: full translation, partial translation (of excerpt or abridgement) and studies on his texts. Such an account enables us to trace important patterns of perception and preference.

36 For an interesting discussion about "urban Sufism" in Indonesia, see Howell, Julia Day: Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60 (2001), pp. 701–729. See Sila, Muhammad Adlin: *Tasawuf Perkotaan. Kasus Pusat Kajian Tasawuf (PKT) Tazkiyah Sejati Jakarta*, Jakarta 2000.

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2.1. Works by Ibn al-Qayyim in Full Translation

2.1.1. The Soul (al-Rūḥ)

This is no doubt Ibn al-Qayyim's most popular work.[37] It was rendered into the Malay-Indonesian language for the first time by Jamaluddin Kafie as *Masalah Ruh* (The Question of the Soul) and published in Surabaya, Indonesia by Bina Ilmu in 1980. It was reprinted the following year by Pena Mas, Johor Bahru, Malaysia. However, it was apparently based on the abridged text *Sirr al-rūḥ* written by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Biqāʿī (d. 885). A second Malay edition was prepared by Syed Ahmad Semait and published in 1990 by the Pustaka Nasional of Singapore with the title *Roh. Satu Analisa tentang Roh-roh Orang Mati dan Orang Hidup* (The Soul. An Analytical Exposition on the Souls of the Living and the Dead). It was reprinted in 2000. There is even a third translation by Kathur Suhardi, published in 1999 by Pustaka al-Kautsar, Jakarta. A comparison between the three versions shows no significant difference apart from minor stylistic improvement and printing quality. All of them were best seller, however. The book attempts to answer various questions concerning the human soul, its nature, origin, destiny, power, predicaments and related issues such as the nature of dream and death, the difference between the soul of the living and that of the dead human being, about punishment in the grave and what will happen to the soul in the afterlife.

2.1.2. A Guide for the Soul to the Land of Joy (Ḥādī al-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrāḥ)

There are three Indonesian versions of this important treatise. The first of these, *Tentang Roh. Perjalanan bersama Roh di Alam Lain* (On the Soul and its Journey to the Other World) was completed by Abu Abdillah Almansur and H. Effendi Zarkasyi and published in 1988 by Gema Insani Press, Jakarta. A second translation by Fadhli Bahri was published in 2000 by Dārul Falāḥ, Jakarta, with the title *Tamasya ke Syurga* (Trip to Paradise). The latter, running to over five hundred pages, comprises 69 chapters. It discusses the reality of Paradise, the

37 The article by Tzvi Langerman in this volume discusses Ibn al-Qayyim's *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* in detail.

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question whether or not it has been created and whether there is any difference between the Paradise in which Adam and Eve used to live and that which the rest of humankind will later occupy. Also covered are the issues of who will be granted and denied entrance to Paradise, the different gates and classes therein, the various names of Paradise and all sorts of wonderful experiences awaiting its inhabitants.

2.1.3. On the Maladies of the Heart (Risāla fī Amrāḍ al-qulūb)

Based on the 1395/1975 critical edition by Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Dār al-Ṭayyibah, Riyadh), this work was translated into Indonesian by Fadhli Bahri with the title *Keajaiban Hati* (Wonders of the Heart) and published by Pustaka Azzam, Jakarta in 1999. But this is not the only one available; other translations include *Noktah-noktah Dosa. Terapi Penyakit Hati* (Spots of Sin. Healing the Illness of the Heart) by Kathur Suhardi (Darul Falah, Jakarta, 2000) and *Terapi Penyakit Hati* by Salim Bazemool (Qisthi Press, Jakarta, 2005). A closer look into the book reveals a striking fact: there is no difference between this book and the *Ighāthat al-lahfān* in terms of its content, leaving aside the title wording. Both books discuss the three spiritual states of the heart, i. e. the causes of its health, misery and happiness.

2.1.4. Enlightening Minds Concerning the Prayer and Invoking Blessings on [the Prophet Muḥammad] Who is the Best of Human Kind (Jalāʾ al-afhām fī faḍl al-ṣalāh ʿalā khayr al-anām)

The Indonesian version of this epistle titled *Shalawat Nabī SAW* was published in 1997 also by Pustaka Azzam. Its translator, Ibn Ibrahim (apparently a sobriquet), rendered not only the whole text but also the editor's preface and the introduction, which comprises a bio-bibliography of Ibn al-Qayyim as well as a review of related literature. Consequently the book becomes more than 600 pages long, divided into five chapters: (i) analysis of various authentic as well as less authentic Hadiths on the importance prayer for the Prophet as reported by over 50 Companions; (ii) detailed explanation of the meaning of each phrase such as *allāhumma* and a review of different opinions concerning the inclusion of the Prophet's wives, relatives and descendants in the prayer; (iii) general guidelines about how to make prayer for the

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Prophet; (iv) the best time, place and/or occasion to utter it; and finally (v) the benefits of such prayer.

2.1.5. Secrets of Prayer (Asrār al-ṣalāt)

There are two editions of this work in Indonesian: the first one, titled *Lezatnya Shalat* (The Sweetness of Prayer) is published by Dārul Falāḥ, Jakarta, in 2004 and another titled *Rahasia Dibalik Shalat* (The Secrets behind Prayer) by Pustaka Azzam, Jakarta. The latter has already been printed more than eight times since it came out in January 2000. It is based on *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-ḥukm tārikihā* (The Book of Prayer and what Should be Done with who Fails to Perform it), a text that was edited by Muḥammad Niẓām al-Dīn al-Fātiḥ, published in Medina by Maktabat Dār al-Turāth in 1412/1992. In the preface, the translators (Amir Hamzah Fachruddin and Kamaluddin Saʿdiatulharamain) explain what has driven them to render the book into their mother tongue: "We believe it is part of our responsibility as scholars to share with others the knowledge that God has given us. But we also do this to teach and remind ourselves." The book addresses legal and technical issues pertaining to prayer, explicating numerous sayings of the Prophet about the punishment for those who miss the daily and weekly prayers. However, the two different Indonesian renderings of the title avoid the harshness of the Arabic original.

2.1.6. Implements for the Patient and Provisions for the Grateful (ʿUddat al-ṣābirīn wa-dhakhīrat al-shākirīn)

The Indonesian version of this treatise is made available by three publishers with three different titles: *Sabar Perisai Seorang Mukmin* (Patience (*Ṣabr*) The Shield of the Believers) by Pustaka Azzam, Jakarta, 2000, *Kemuliaan Sabar dan Keagungan Syukur* (The Highest and the Most Excellent of all Virtues. *Ṣabr* and *Shukr*) by Mitra Pustaka, and *Indahnya Sabar. Bekal Sabar Agar Tak Pernah Habis* (The Beauty of *Ṣabr* (Patience). Tips to Maintain the Degree of *Ṣabr*) by Maghfirah Pustaka. It seemed to sell so well that it was printed twice within six months. In the preface to the book, the publisher explains to the reader its continuous relevance: everyone in this transient life is confronted by many problems, which they often regard as fortune (*niʿma*) but

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also sometimes disaster (*muṣība*). But both of these can be perceived as nothing but a test (*ibtilā'*) by God so as to distinguish the faithful from the faithless, the true believers from the false ones. In this book Ibn al-Qayyim makes clear the meaning and nature of *ṣabr,* its kinds and degrees and the positive impacts it will have on a person. Worth-quoting is Ibn al-Qayyim's statement of his purpose:

> This is a book to benefit kings and princes, the wealthy and the indigent, the Sufis and scholars; a [book meant] to inspire the sedentary to set out, accompany the wayfarer on the path and inform the one travelling towards the ultimate Destination.[38]

2.1.7. The Travellers' Stages Between "Thee alone we worship and in Thee alone we seek help" (Madārij al-sālikīn bayna manāzil iyyāka naʿbudu wa iyyāka nastaʿīn)

This major work has been rendered into Indonesian by Aunur Rafiq Shaleh and published in several volumes by Robbani Press Jakarta in 1998–2000 with the following title *Madarijus Salikin. Jenjang Spiritual Para Penempuh Jalan Ruhani*. A second translation appeared in 2000. Published by Risalah Gusti in Surabaya, it was jointly prepared by Abdul Aziz Mustafa, Maghfur Wachid and Muhammad Luqman Hakiem and titled *Mahabbatullah Tangga Menuju Cinta Allah. Wacana Imam Ibnul Qayyim al-Jauziyah*. Pustaka al-Kautsar Jakarta published a third one titled *Madarijus Salikin. Pendakian Menuju Allah* in one volume comprising three parts. Aside from these, the Malay-speaking public may also enjoy the reflections of Shaykh Ṣalāḥ Shādī titled *Menggapai Manisnya Iman. Butir-butir Ma'rifatullah Ibnu Qayyim al-Jawziyyah* (Tasting the Sweetness of Faith. Jewels of Knowledge About God Presented by Ibn al-Qayyim). The translation was done by Marsuni Sasaky, published in Jakarta (Pustaka Azzam) 1420/2000, on the basis of *Ta'ammulāt fī Kitāb Madārij al-Sālikīn li-Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah*, Kuwait (Sharikat al-Shuʿā') 1405/1985. Written when he was still in jail due to his association with the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, Shādī's is a fascinating book to read, split into four chapters: (i) the nature of virtue (*akhlāq*); (ii) the meaning of devotion (*ikhlāṣ*); (iii) interest-free human relations; and (iv) self-management and control.

38 See *'Uddat al-ṣābirīn*, Cairo 1993, p. 11.

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2.1.8. The Heavy Shower of Good Utterances (al-Wābil al-ṣayyib min al-kalim al-ṭayyib)

One of Ibn al-Qayyim's bestsellers, the Malay-Indonesian version of this treatise is titled *Zikir Cahaya Kehidupan* (Remembrance of God as Illumination in Life). Based on the excerpt titled *Fawāʾid al-Dhikr*, the task of rendering it from Arabic was done by Abdul Hayyie al-Kattani and his team members, and was published in 2002 by Gema Insani Press, Jakarta. Due to its brevity and portability, the book sold very well, having gone through over five editions within two years. It consists of 80 chapters dealing with the various benefits of remembrance (*dhikr*), the guidelines and proper method of doing it and elucidation of related matters. The value of this treatise is explained by Ibn al-Qayyim in his other work: "In our book *al-Wābil al-ṣayyib wa-rāfiʿ al-kalim al-ṭayyib* we have already mentioned nearly one hundred benefits of remembrance of God, its secrets, advantages and its sweet fruits."

2.1.9. Path of the Two Migrations and Gate to the Two Joys (Ṭarīq al-hijratayn wa-bāb al-saʿādatayn)

This work has been translated as *Bekal Hijrah Menuju Allāh* (Provision for the Journey to God), published by Gema Insani Press, Jakarta, 2002) and *Hijrah Paripurna Menuju Allāh dan Rasūlnya* (A Perfect Journey to God and His Messenger), published variously by Pustaka Azzam, Jakarta. It is based on the 1979 Cairo edition covering wide-ranging topics from the meaning of ontological need and contingency (*faqr*), servitude (*taʿabbud*), benefit (*manfaʿa*) and harm (*maḍarra*) in relation to God's decree (*al-qaḍāʾ wal-qadar*), to forbearance (*ṣabr*) and longing (*shawq*) for God.

2.1.10. The Sufficient Answer to the One Who Seeks a Cure (al-Jawāb al-kāfī li-man saʾala ʿan al-dawāʾ al-shāfī)

This work is also known as *al-Dāʾ wal-dawāʾ* (The Malady and the Remedy). Translated as *Siraman Rohani Bagi Yang Mendambakan Ketenangan Hati* (A Spiritual Shower for Those Who Need Spiritual Tranquility) by Arief B. Iskandar, the book was published in 2000 by

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Pustaka Lentera, Jakarta. It outlines the importance of invocation (*duʿāʾ*) and remembrance (*dhikr*) of God and spells out the consequences of sins (*al-maʿāṣī*). According to Ibn al-Qayyim, diseases of the soul such as anxiety, stress and depression can be cured through remembrance of God. Referring to the Hadith transmitted by Abū Yaʿlā, Ibn ʿAdī and al-Ḥākim, he explains that invocation is the most effective means of psycho-therapy; it is the "enemy" of spiritual illness - repressing it and removing it, or at least preventing its occurrence; "It is the weapon of the believer, the pillar of the religion and the light of the heaven and earth", quoting another Hadith reported by al-Ḥākim.

2.1.11. The Garden of Lovers and the Promenade of Those Who Yearn (Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn wa-nuzhat al-mushtāqīn)

This bestselling work was rendered into Indonesian by Kathur Suhardi and published by Al Baz in 1997 with the title *Taman Orang-orang Cinta dan Rindu.* It also appeared in 1996 as *Taman Orang-orang Jatuh Cinta dan Memendam Rindu* from Darul Falah, Jakarta. A third edition, titled *Taman Orang-orang Jatuh Cinta dan Rekreasi Orang-orang Dimabuk Rindu* was published in 2006 by the Bandung-based Irsyad Baitus Salam. As Ibn al-Qayyim himself stated in the introduction, the aim of the book was to assist believers in properly subordinating all secondary, profane affections to the supreme, sacred love owed to God. In his view, love (*maḥabba*) is both the means and final cause of creation as well as the soul's way to beatitude. Needless to say, Ibn al-Qayyim always cited the sayings of the Prophet and other religious authorities before concluding with selections of verses in support of his opinions.

2.1.12. God's Beautiful Names (Sharḥ Asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā)

Published by Pustaka al-Kautsar, Jakarta, as *Asmāʾ-ul Ḥusnā – Nama-nama Indah Allah* (The Beautiful Names of God). The translation is based on the Arabic text edited by Yūsuf ʿAlī and Ayman ʿAbd al-Razzāq Shawwā, Beirut (Dār al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib) 1998. The Malay-Indonesian edition includes the translation of the editorial preface. The ten chapters of the book spell out the etymology and significance of the 99 Divine Names.

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2.1.13. Gift for the Beloved on the Rules Pertaining to New Born Babies (Tuḥfat al-mawdūd bi-aḥkām al-mawlūd)

This epistle has been published by Pustaka at-Tibyan Jakarta under the title *Kado Sang Bayi* (The Baby's Present). In this book we find Ibn al-Qayyim's explanation about what the Muslim parents should do to their new-born babies. This includes uttering the call to prayer (*adhān*) and *iqāma* (call for prayer) in the baby's right and left ear respectively; doing *taḥnīk*, i. e. putting sweet things in the mouth of the baby and invoking Allah to bless the newly born baby; slaughtering a sheep (*ʿaqīqa*), shaving the child's head and anointing it with saffron and giving the child a good name – the latter preferably on the seventh day. Ibn al-Qayyim regards this *ʿaqīqa* as a means by which the child is brought close to Allah soon after he comes into this world, since it is a ransom that would enable him or her to intercede for the parents in the Afterlife. Also recommended by Ibn al-Qayyim is circumcision (*khitān*) which signifies natural purity (*sunan al-fiṭra*).

2.1.14. Cure for the Sick (Shifāʾ al-ʿalīl fī masāʾil al-qaḍāʾ wal-qadar wal-ḥikma wa-taʿlīl)

Published by Pustaka Azzam, Jakarta, it has been translated under the title *Qadha dan Qadar* (On Divine Ordinance and Predestination). It was apparently based on the text printed in 1407/1987 by Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, Beirut. The treatise was basically written in order to refute two major heresies: the so-called *qadariyya* (belief in man's free will) and its opposite, i. e. fatalism (*jabriyya*). The issues addressed include whether one's felicity or misery in the afterlife are predetermined or not, the difference between predetermination (*qaḍāʾ*) and causality (*qadar*), the meaning of guidance (*hudā*) and aberrance (*ḍalāl*), human effort (*kasb*) in relation to God's domination (*jabr*). Equally interesting is the imaginary debate Ibn al-Qayyim relayed between the two opposing camps. In his views, the fatalists' thesis is untenable because it would render meaningless the sending of the prophets, and would defeat the purpose of reward and punishment in the hereafter.

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2.1.15. Informing Those in Charge About the Master of the Two Worlds (Iʿlām al-muwaqqiʿīn ʿan rabb al-ʿālamīn)

The translation of this important work into Indonesian was done by Kamaluddin Sa'diyatulharamain and Asep Saefullah. Titled *Panduan Hukum Islam,* it was published in four volumes by Pustaka Azzam, Jakarta in 2000. A section of this book on the question of *taqlīd* has been published separately as *Risāla fī al-Taqlīd*, ed. by Muḥammad Ḥusaynī ʿAfīfī, Beirut (al-Maktab al-Islāmī) 1405/1985. The Malay-Indonesian version of this excerpt was prepared by Kathur Suhardi and published by Dārul Falāḥ, Jakarta in 1421/2000. In the preface, the editor informs the reader about the effort he made to correct mistakes found in the previously printed texts, besides tracing the numerous Koran and Hadith references to their sources, clarifying technical terms as well as unfamiliar or ambiguous words and pointing out the possible basis of every legal ruling cited therein. A new table of content is supplied: (i) What is *taqlīd*? How and why it is different from *ittibāʿ*; (ii) The four Imams were against *taqlīd*; (iii) An imaginary debate between those who practice *taqlīd* and those who oppose it.

2.2. Ibn al-Qayyim's Works in Partial Translation

2.2.1. Prophetic Medicine (al-Ṭibb al-nabawī)

This text is part of the book *Zād al-maʿād fī hady khayr al-ʿibād* (Provisions for the Afterlife on the Teachings of the Best of All People). There are more than four editions of this work in Malay-Indonesian: the first one, titled *Panduan Rawatan Perubatan Berdasarkan al-Qurʾān dan al-Sunnah* (A Guide for Medical Treatment from the Holy Koran and the Prophetic Tradition), was translated by Rozali Md. Isa and published by Thinker's Library, Selangor, Malaysia, 1996. A second one, *Sistem Perubatan Nabi* (The Prophet's Medical System) was published by Albaz Publisher, Selangor, Malaysia, 2000. The other two appeared in Indonesia, titled *Kiat Sehat ala Rasulullah SAW. Cara Hidup Sehat Rasulullah dan Sahabat* (Tips for Health from the Prophet. How to Lead a Healthy Life as the Prophet and his Companions Used to Do) and *Metode Pengobatan Nabi* (The Method of Prophetic Medicine), that were published by the Jakarta-based Najla Press and Griya Ilmu respectively. In this book Ibn al-Qayyim advocated the medical prac-

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tices of the Prophet and those mentioned in the Koran in preference to the medical theories assimilated from the Greeks, thereby providing a guide to medical therapy that was in conformity with the Islamic principles. The therapy recommended included diet and simple drugs, especially honey, bloodletting and cautery, but no surgery. Other topics included fevers, leprosy, plague, poisonous bites, protection from night-flying insects, protection against the evil eye, rules of coitus, theories of embryology and anatomy, the proper conduct of physicians and the treatment of minor illnesses such as headaches, nosebleeds, cough, colic and sciatica. The use of wine and soporific as medicaments was strictly prohibited. In addition, Ibn al-Qayyim provided numerous prayers and pious invocations to be used by the devout patient, with designs for the occasional amulet and talisman.

2.2.2. Physiognomy (al-Firāsa)

This small text, which is part of the work *al-Ṭuruq al-ḥukmiyya fī al-siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* (The Ways of Governance in Accordance with the Revealed Law) was translated into Indonesian by A. H. Ba'adillah and published as *Firasat* by Pustaka Azzam Jakarta in 2000. The basis for it was the text edited by Ṣalāḥ Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʾī and published in 1986 by al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyyah, Baghdad. The editor informs us that he has collated the manuscript with the printed text edited by Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī. In spite of its somewhat misleading title, the book in fact deals with intuition as one of the valid methods in settling legal disputes – what we today call law of evidence governing the use of testimony (oral or written) and other kinds of proof in a judicial proceeding.

2.2.3. A Guide for the Soul to the Land of Joy (Ḥādī al-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrāḥ)

The abridged version of this monograph with annotations by Leila Mabrūk was published in 1988 by Pustaka al-Kautsar, Jakarta, bearing the title *Tentang Roh. Perjalanan bersama Roh di Alam Lain*. The book like its complete, original version is an answer to all questions one might pose about the eternal life in Paradise, what will be provided for and experienced by its inhabitants.

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2.2.4. Rescuing the Afflicted from Satan's Snares (Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣā'id al-Shayṭān)

The Indonesian version of this work, titled *Manajemen Kalbu – Melumpuhkan Senjata Syetan* (Breaking the Weapon of Satan) was prepared by Ainul Haris Umar Arifin Thayib and published by Dārul Falāḥ, Jakarta in 2000. It is the translation of an abridgement of the original written by ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, namely: *Mawārid al-amān al-muntaqā min Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣā'id al-shayṭān*, Riyadh (Dār Ibn al-Jawzī), 1411/1991. The Indonesian editor proudly mentioned his personal acquaintance with the author of the abridgement, who happened to be a student to the celebrated Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī. Close 500 pages long, the book is organized into 13 chapters, with each being sub-divided into several sections. It begins with a discussion about three different conditions of the heart – the healthy, the sick and the dead one. Analytical explanation of various causes of spiritual illness, paralysis and death is given in the subsequent chapters. Also discussed are the method and the means recommended by Ibn al-Qayyim to remedy the situation and restore one's spiritual health. The remaining chapters talk about all kinds of tricks and weapons that demons normally use against humans, including of course Ibn al-Qayyim's practical tips to overcome them.

2.2.5. On the Virtues and Vices of the Soul (al-Furūq al-nafīsa bayna ṣifāt al-nafs al-ṭayyiba wal-khabītha)

According to its editor, Abū Ḥudhayfa Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, this is an excerpt from Ibn Qayyim's celebrated *Kitāb al-Rūḥ*, namely the section dealing with the three aspects of human soul: at peace (*muṭma'inna*), blaming (*lawwāma*) and urging evil (*ammāra bil-sū'*). It has been translated by Abu Aḥmad Najieh as *Etika Kesucian. Wacana Penyucian Jiwa, Entitas Sikap Hidup Muslim* (The Ethics of Purity. How to Purify the Soul which is the Essential Aspect of a Muslim's Life), and was published in 1998 by Risalah Gusti, Surabaya.

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2.2.6. Provision for the Appointed Day from the Teachings of God's Best Servant (Zād al-maʿād fī hady khayr al-ʿibād)

A complete translation of this work was published in 1999 by Pustaka al-Kautsar, Jakarta. The publisher tells the reader that this book is a must reading for every Muslim who is bound to follow the Prophet's way of life. Ibn al-Qayyim's book provides the readers with everything they need to know about the Prophet – his genealogy, his personal traits and habits, his way of dealing with people of all walks of life, his legal rulings and his military expeditions. The original text used is that published in 1420/1999 by Dār al-Taqwā, Beirut.

2.2.7. The Key to the Abode of Happiness and the Decree of the Sovereignty of Knowledge and Will (Miftāḥ dār al-saʿāda wa-manshūr wilāyat al-ʿilm wal-irāda)

The Indonesian version of this treatise, titled *Buah Ilmu* (Fruit of Knowledge) was published by Pustaka Azzam, Jakarta in 1420/1990. It was based on the excerpt published by Abū al-Ḥārith al-Ḥalabī al-Atharī as *al-ʿIlm* (Knowledge) in Riyadh, 1412/1992.[39] Also available is another partial translation done by Kathur Suhardi and published by Pustaka al-Kautsar, Jakarta in 1988 with a slightly different title: *Mendulang Faidah dari Lautan Ilmu* (Drawing Benefits from the Ocean of Knowledge). The latter is based on the text edited by ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī al-Atharī titled *Fawāʾid al-fawāʾid*, Damascus (Dār Ibn al-Jawzī) 1417/1997. It was a great fortune for us, says the Indonesian publisher in the preface, to have a scholar of outstanding quality like Ibn Taymiyya who produced no less a figure than Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya. The book is divided into 14 sections: (i) on *ʿaqīda* and *tawḥīd*-related notions such as sincerity (*ikhlāṣ)*, servitude (*ʿubūdiyya*), trust and reliance on God (*tawakkul*); (ii) on the Holy Koran and interpretation of selected chapters and verses; (iii) lessons from the Prophetic Hadith on the significance of fear of God (*taqwā*) and the necessity of abiding by the Sunna; (iv) admonition that failure to do what God commands is much more serious than failure to avoid what He forbids; (v) on the types of knowledge and the knowledgeable; (vi) the psychology of human soul; (vii) on faith and infidelity, their

39 This is corresponding to vol. 1, pp. 219–542 of the original text, Cairo 1323–25/1905–07.

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nature and characteristics; (viii) the problem of sins and disobedience; (ix) on the spiritual journey to God; (x) on the subtleties of the heart; (xi) on the life of some pious personalities; (xii) various issues pertaining to human nature; (xiii) solution to the riddle about good and evil, angel and Satan, what is *ḥalāl* and what is *ḥarām*, obedience and disobedience; and (xiv) short notes on God's decree (*taqdīr*), moral maxims and proverbs.

2.3. Studies on Ibn al-Qayyim

2.3.1. Harun, Nasrun: Ijtihad Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah dalam Konteks Perubahan Sosial (*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's* ijtihād *within the Context of Social Change*)[40]

The author attempts to shed light on the dialectical relation between jurisprudence and the changing situations of society with special reference to Ibn al-Qayyim's critical attitude towards "total reliance on authority" (*taqlīd*), "dogmatic fanaticism" (*taʿaṣṣub*) and independent legal judgement (*ijtihād*). We are told that although he adhered to the Ḥanbalī legal thought, Ibn al-Qayyim did not always agree with Ibn Ḥanbal's views. Hence one might call him a *mujtahid muntasib* – that is, a qualified scholar who was capable of arriving at an independent, sometimes also different legal opinion while still following the methodological principles of his school. The author further notes that Ibn al-Qayyim did not accept juristic preference (*istiḥsān*) as a valid method of legal inference, dismissing it as a blameworthy kind of reasoning (*al-raʾy al-madhmūm*). However, since Ibn al-Qayyim did acknowledge the validity of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*), the author concludes that the issue was less substantial than terminological – i. e. what Ibn al-Qayyim rejected was the term *istiḥsān* (which was a later invention), and not the practice of solving a legal problem by means of reasoning when explicit statement (*naṣṣ*) could nowhere be found. The author seemed fascinated by the principle that legal opinions change and vary at different times, places, circumstances, aims and customs (*taghayyur al-fatāwī wa-ikhtilāfuhā bi-ḥasab ikhtilāf al-azmina wal-amkina wal-aḥwāl wal-niyyāt wal-ʿawāʾid*) which he claimed is central to Ibn al-Qayyim's legal thought and useful for present-day Muslims.

40 Ph. D. thesis (Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN), Syarif Hidayatullah University), Jakarta 1997.

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2.3.2. Ibn Nizar, Tamar Jaya: Pemikiran Kalām Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah (*The Theological Thought* (kalām) *of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya*)[41]

The chief aim of this analytical study of Ibn al-Qayyim's theological writings is to expose his stance on issues such as human reason versus revelation, the attributes of God, free-will and predestination and the problem of *ta'wīl*. According to the author, Ibn al-Qayyim preferred the method of rapprochement (*al-jam'*) when the sacred text seems to contradict reason. God's acts are concomitants of His attributes, and His attributes are concomitants of His essence. All this must be accepted as it is, without implying anthropomorphism nor making allegorical interpretation. Ibn al-Qayyim distinguished two kinds of volition with respect to God, one pertaining to nature (*irāda kawniyya*), the other to one's relationship to God's religion (*irāda dīniyya*). God's justice should be understood in connection with His wisdom (*ḥikma*) for His creatures' benefit (*maṣlaḥa*). Man is granted freedom to choose and act within the constraint of and in accordance with God's rule (*sunnat allāh*). Ibn al-Qayyim believed in the eternality of Paradise but he denied the eternality of the Hell.[42] The author finally observed that Ibn al-Qayyim's approach to theological issues differed from most Sunni *mutakallimūn* in several respects. He was able to provide logical arguments in support of his theses while at the same time holding fast to the revealed text and tradition.

2.3.3. Ibrahim, Mohammad: Konsep Tauhid dan Sifat-sifat Allah Menurut Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (*The Concept of* tawḥīd *and the Divine Attributes According to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya*)[43]

This study consists of six chapters, including a general introduction, a bio-bibliography and a conclusion. The main discussion is found in chapter four, where Ibn al-Qayyim's distinction between *tawḥīd al-'ilm* and *al-tawḥīd al-qaṣdī al-irādī* and their negation are elucidated. The subsequent chapter deals with Ibn al-Qayyim's views on

41 Ph.D. thesis (IAIN, Syarif Hidayatullah University), Jakarta 1999.

42 On the question of hellfire and its eternality see the article by Jon Hoover in this volume.

43 M.A. thesis (Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya), Kuala Lumpur 1999.

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the Divine attributes (*ṣifāt*). We are told that Ibn al-Qayyim's position is similar to that of his teacher Ibn Taymiyya: to affirm God's attributes as stated by the Revelation without questioning (*bi-lā kayf*) and without falling into anthropomorphism, and therefore rejecting deism (*taʾṭīl*) of any kind. The conclusion underscores several important points, stating that Ibn al-Qayyim is a true reformer (*mujaddid*) in theology who devoted his life to the cause of rectifying errors and eradicating confusion among the Muslims; that while he built his views on the basis of Koran and Sunna, Ibn al-Qayyim did use rational arguments to support his theses; therefore, it is not groundless to say that Ibn al-Qayyim belongs to the Ahl al-Sunna scholars who follow in the footsteps of the first generations of pious Muslims (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*).

2.3.4. Saiful Anam, Ahmad: Kriteria Kesahihan Hadis menurut Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Criteria for Determining the Authenticity of Hadith*)[44]

Focusing on Ibn al-Qayyim's *Kitāb al-Manār al-munīf fī al-ṣaḥīḥ wal-ḍaʿīf*, this study sought to expose the criteria used by Ibn al-Qayyim in ascertaining whether or not a Prophetic tradition is authentic and valid. It was found that in Ibn al-Qayyim's view the reliability of the transmitters (*sanad*) does not always guarantee the validity of the reported content (*matn*). According to Ibn al-Qayyim, so we are told, five conditions must be met in order for a Hadith to be authentic: (i) it must be transmitted by trustworthy authorities; (ii) it must be free from any defect (*ʿilla*); (iii) it must be free from aberrations (*shudhūdh*); (iv) it must be free from opposition (*nakāra*) and finally (v) there should be no conflict or contradiction between its transmitters. The author applied these five criteria against a dozen Hadiths which he randomly picked from Ibn al-Qayyim's *al-Manār al-munīf*. The finding was not surprising: Ibn al-Qayyim's judgement of the Hadiths in question seems to be consistent with the criteria of authenticity which he upholds. The author concluded by stating that generally speaking, Ibn al-Qayyim's methodology was quite moderate – that is, neither strict nor loose, whilst conforming as he was to the standard procedure of the *muḥaddithūn.*

44 Ph. D. thesis (IAIN, Syarif Hidayatullah University), Jakarta 1997.

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2.3.5. Abdillah, Mujiyono: Dialektika Hukum Islam dan Perubahan Sosial. Sebuah Refleksi sosiologis atas pemikiran Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah (*Dialectical* [*Relationship*] *between Islamic Law and Social Change. A Sociological Reflection on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Legal Thought*)[45]

Based on the author's dissertation, this book attempts to explore the alleged flexibility principle that Ibn al-Qayyim adopted in his legal theory: that legal rulings vary according to the changing circumstances. The first two chapters sketch the general theoretical framework where the author's erroneous assumptions are laid down: that Islamic law is the intellectual product of Muslim scholars and jurists; that Islamic law went through a gradual development and is therefore subject to change and never final; and that social change will inevitably affect and even dictate the further development of Islamic law. It is clear that the author has confused the Sharia with jurisprudence (*fiqh*); he failed to distinguish the legal dicta (*naṣṣ*) from the personal opinion (*fatwā*) reflecting the intellectual effort (*ijtihād*) of the jurists (*fuqahā'*). In short, Abdillah mistook Ibn al-Qayyim's orthodox stance for a liberal attitude according to which the ends would justify the means, and the Divine law must obey the society. After giving a biographical overview in chapter three, the author proceeds to elaborate on what he claims to be Ibn al-Qayyim's theory of legal transformation which he discusses in sociological terms.

2.3.6. Yusof, Ahmad Ikbal b. Mohammad: Ibn Qayyim's Critique of Philosophical Sufism. The Refutation of al-Tilimsānī's Version of Waḥdat al-Wujūd[46]

This work presents a comparative textual analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim's Kitāb *Madārij al-sālikīn* and al-Tilimsānī's *Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn ilā al-ḥaqq al-mubīn*, each of which being an extended commentary on a short treatise written by the celebrated Ḥanbalī Sufi al-Harawī (d. 481/1089). Special attention was given to the concept of "mystical witnessing" (*mushāhada*) in order to highlight the opposing views of Ibn al-Qayyim vis-à-vis al-Tilimsānī on the question of ontic unity

45 Surakarta 2003.
46 M. A. thesis (International Islamic University Malaysia), Kuala Lumpur 2004.

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(*waḥdat al-wujūd*). The author observed that Ibn al-Qayyim held an uncompromising, critical stance towards the so-called philosophical Sufism (*al-taṣawwuf al-falsafī*) just as his master Ibn Taymiyyah did. In his conclusion the author proposed that *waḥdat al-shuhūd* should be adopted instead of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and that Sufism should be guided and based on the Prophetic tradition rather than philosophy.

2.3.7. Ismail, Masthurah: Analisis Terhadap Pandangan Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya mengenai Hak Beragama Orang bukan Islam di dalam Negara Islam. Kajian dalam Aḥkām ahl al-Dhimmah (*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Views on the Rights of Non-Muslim Citizens in an Islamic State. An Analytical Study of His Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*)[47]

This important work brings into focus the views of Ibn al-Qayyim on the religious rights of non-Muslims as expressed quite in detail in a compilation of his writings titled *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimmah*. The author claims that Ibn al-Qayyim's views concerning non-Muslims do not diverge markedly from those established by other scholars. This is so, she says, because they used a common methodology. The only difference on the issue is to be found in their understanding and application of *maṣlaḥa*. The author concludes that according to Ibn al-Qayyim, the religious rights of the non-Muslim citizens must be protected by the state – not unconditionally, of course, but rather with the provisions described by the jurists.

2.3.8. Mohd Yusof, Mohd Izwan: Metodologi Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya dalam Kitāb *al-Amthāl fī al-qur'ān* (*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Interpretive Methodology in His* al-Amthāl fī al-qur'ān)[48]

This dissertation details the exegetical methodology of Ibn al-Qayyim as reflected in his book *al-Amthāl fī al-qur'ān*. The author begins with a discussion about the method Ibn al-Qayyim applied in composing the book. According to the author, Ibn al-Qayyim did not invent any new method of interpretation; rather, he stuck to the traditional one

47 M.A. thesis (Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya), Kuala Lumpur 2007.

48 M.A. thesis (Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya), Kuala Lumpur 2007.

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commonly used by the classical *mufassirūn* before him. That is to say, he interpreted the similes found in the Koran by referring to other verses and the Prophetic Hadith as well as to the statements going back to the Companions (*ṣaḥāba*). Nevertheless, Ibn al-Qayyim did in a few cases manage to come up with his own understanding of the verses in question, so we are told.

Conclusion

One of the results of the Islamization process that has been going on since the 13th century in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago is the radical change in the *Weltanschauung* of the people. As al-Attas rightly pointed out, following the conversion of the "body" which represented the first phase of the process (from 1200–1400 CE), the Malay-Indonesian Muslims gradually came to understand the fundamental concepts constituting the worldview of Islam such as *tawḥīd* and *nubuwwa*, albeit in the opaque sense, still influenced by the old *Weltanschauung.* In the third phase (from 1700 CE onwards) the Islamization process was boosted by the cultural influences of the Western colonials who bolstered the scientific-rationalistic spirit whose philosophical foundations were laid earlier by Islam.[49] Consequently by the late 19th and 20th centuries, Islam became so entrenched in the souls of the people that many would consider Islam as an essential part of their ethnic identity; hence being Malay, Acehnese, Sundanese, Banjarese, Buginese, Madurese was identical to being Muslim, just as being European would imply being Christian. It should be noted, however, that throughout these centuries up to the present day the overwhelming majority of the population of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago was dominated by Shāfiʿīs and Ashʿarīs. Lay people would consider those who do not belong to these groups to be deviating from the straight path. There might have been some Shiites in Sumatra and other parts of the region but they have left few traces. The same holds true for Wahhabism and associated doctrines like that of Ibn Taymiyya which have always met resistance from people.

As regards Ibn al-Qayyim, it is may be concluded from the foregoing survey that his influence is quite evident not only in the popu-

49 See al-Attas, Syed Muhammad al Naquib: *Islam and Secularism*, Kuala Lumpur 1978, pp. 161–162.

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lar literature on Sufism but also in the academic works dealing with theology and law. The continuous reprinting of his translated works in the Malay-speaking world is indeed one of many signs of an unfading attention to his thought. Besides the impact of the reform movements such as the Muhammadiyah, Nahḍat al-'Ulamā' and Persatuan Islam, it was the young people returning from the Middle East that have been playing a crucial role in popularizing Ibn al-Qayyim's works on spirituality, ethics, law and theology. Although the translation is generally quite legible and faithful to the original, the fact that numerous mistakes abound and no effort was made to collate the text and annotate it is a clear indication that these were in most cases done for commercial rather than scholarly aims.

Coming back to the issue of radicalism touched upon at the outset, we have seen that historical evidence points out to the fact that Salafi ideas were brought to the Malay world long before the works of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya and others were made available to the Malay-Indonesian speakers. If there were any link between Salafism and radicalism as some have suggested, it is more likely to be chronological than causal. That is to say, it would be *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* to attribute the booming of radicalism to the plethora of such authors. One should look into a bundle of factors which are primarily political, economic or psychological in nature to better explain such annoying phenomenon.

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